by Sunni Arabs who were prosperous when the pearling industry flourished but who depend today upon fishing, the oil company and transporting jus from Hawar for their living. In the summer the heat and the shortage of water (for although Jaw has a well it is brackish and more to the taste of the date palms that grow around it than to the people) drive most of the inhabitants to migrate to Sitra. Jaw was once spread some distance along the shore, as can be seen from the ruins that surround it, and in addition to having been a pearling centre it was inhabited by the people of Zubara when they wanted to escape the tyrannical rule of the Wahhabis in the 19th century. Jaw is the point on Bahrain nearest to Zubara and the Qatar coast, and for that reason it was always garrisoned when there was a threat to Bahrain from the mainland, but today the Police Camel Corps, which is stationed there, is to prevent the smuggling into Bahrain of Arabs from the Trucial Coast who come seeking work.

North of Jaw on the road to the Refinery is Asker and opposite it the island of Mushaikha, where an old tomb is the centre of pilgrimage for one of the Moslem sects, the Buharas. The interior of the tomb is filled with bottles of rose water, brought by pilgrims as offerings. Asker itself is a village much like Jaw and Dour.

JIDHAFS

We must now return to Manama and follow the other road that leads out of the town, this time in the direction of Budaiya. After passing through some miles of gardens the road reaches Jidhafs, a large village, which is also said to have been at one time the capital of Bahrain. Its inhabitants have a reputation for being enterprising and go-ahead, they have recently demonstrated this by deciding to build a club, the first in any of the villages, although in the towns there are many. Jidhafs contains one of the Shiite Juma Mosques and Friday Prayer is said there. It may seem strange that this should be a claim to fame, but according to Moslem custom only certain mosques are used for the Friday Prayers which is intended to encourage large congregations and to prevent the dispersal of the faithful in all the other mosques.

Like all the villagers, those of Jidhafs enjoy a visit to the town every now and then, and in the evenings bus loads of men and many cyclists can be seen coming in to town to enjoy themselves by going to the cinema or sitting gossiping with their friends in the coffee-shops to the blare of wireless music.

South of Jidhafs in the direction of Suq al-Khamis is the village of Ain al-Dar; although today it presents a quiet and peaceful appearance it was once the headquarters of a notorious gang of robbers who used a ruined house, inhabited by a lunatic, as a cache for storing their loot.

BUDAIYA

This strange town, on the north-western tip of Bahrain Island, is connected with Manama by a good motor road which runs through the village of Jidhafs. Budaiya used to be a large town, divided into Two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.

two quarters still spoken of as North and South Budaiya.[1] It was the home of the Dawasir tribe who came to Bahrain shortly after it was conquered by the al-Khalifah and established themselves here. The tribe acquired great wealth and prestige, owning many pearling dhows, and by degrees they became so powerful that they were able to raid with impunity the neighbouring Bahrana villages. They even challenged the authority of the al-Khalifah, but Shaikh Hamed, on becoming Deputy Ruler in 1924, threatened to punish them if they did not behave. This they considered as an infringement of their liberties and they therefore announced to the Ruler that if he prevented them behaving as they were accustomed, they would leave Bahrain and settle in Saudi Arabia. Shaikh Hamed refused to give way and the Dawasir left Bahrain. This, however, was not the last of them, for during many years it was believed that they were preparing to invade Bahrain. To prevent this a force was maintained in the Islands. However, the scare eventually died down and Budaiya after lying deserted, was later partly re-occupied by other Bahrainis, while some of the Dawasir gradually returned, many of them settling in Manama and Muharraq.

The ruins of great houses and mosques still remain, while scattered between them are the houses of the new inhabitants, who do much fishing in the prolific waters near the town, and also work in Manama and Awali. Before reaching the Police Post that marks the entrance to Budaiya the road passes through the Government Experimental Garden where new agricultural methods are tried and where cows and sheep, kept under scientific conditions, are studied for their productivity. From the Budaiya Pier launches go to Jidda, the prison island, many of whose inmates come over daily to work in the Budaiya Garden. The Pier is also used by the Ruler when he visits his island of Umm an-Nasaan.

The small Government school at Budaiya just south of the Government gardens, in addition to teaching the usual Primary School subjects gives lessons in agriculture for many of the boys' fathers own or work in gardens in the neighbourhood.

DIRAZ

Diraz is a village about half a mile north of the Budaiya Road and about 1½ miles from Budaiya itself. It consists mainly of stone houses, many of which are two-storied. The village stands on high ground among the sand dunes and is very similar to Beni Jumra which faces it a little way off on the opposite side of the road. It is so surrounded by clumps of date palms that its size is not appreciated from the road. A feature noticeable here, as well as in many other parts of Bahrain, is that date palms grow in groups at the bottom of depressions in the sand and are not irrigated by water channels but obtain moisture from below the surface of the ground.

North-west of the village there are mounds which indicate the existence of a much larger settlement in the past and an extensive area of ground is covered with glass and pottery sherds. Among the ruins

[1] [The town of Budaiya . . . Ap 1951]

RESULTS OF THE CENSUS

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POPULATION AND DISTRIBUTION. The number of people in Bahrain on the night of 3rd March 1950 (12th Jamad-al-Awal, 1369) was 109,650. This represents a growth in the population of about 20,000 since the first census was taken in 1941 (1359). The increase was not evenly distributed; in 1941 about 55% of the population lived in the three towns, Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd and the rest of the inhabitants of Bahrain lived in the villages. The proportion of town and country dwellers has changed, the three towns now contain 61% of the population and the villages contain 39%, (these figures do not include Awali). There are about 90 villages and many small hamlets and settlements in Bahrain.

In Manamah the census showed a population of 39,648, an increase of nearly 12,000 (43%) in nine years. The population of Muharraq and Hedd was 25,577, an increase of 4,138 (20%) over the 1941 figure. In the villages, excluding the two Rafaas, there was an increase of only 344.

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From records in the Passport Office at the time of the census it appeared that about 6,000 persons, almost all of them males, who normally resided in Bahrain, were absent from the country. It can be assumed that most of these men were working with oil companies and contractors in the neighbouring states. In 1941 very few Bahrain Arabs were working abroad. The proportion of men who are employed outside Bahrain is very high.

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The large increase in the population of Manamah is not due to urbanization but it is due to immigration. The village communities especially in the Shia villages are very closely knit and insular so the census clerks had no difficulty in ascertaining whether there had been

621 any exodus from the villages to the towns. It was found
166 that there had been no movements from the villages to Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd. With a few exceptions the population of individual villages was the same as it was nine years ago. The only population movements which took place were among the Arab villages. In Dour, the last village on the eastern coast, which in 1941 contained 166 people only one house remained occupied; the population of Jow, a mile or two north of Dour, decreased from 427 in 1941 to 214 in 1950. Some of the people from these two places crossed to Qatar, others moved to Rafaa. The population of the two Rafaas, and Sakhir, was 2,929 in 1941, it is now over 4,000.

NATIONALITY AND RELIGION

●167 Assuming that the growth of Manamah's population was mainly due to more foreigners having settled in the town, which is very evident, it might be expected that the total number of foreigners in the country would be very much larger than the number which was recorded in 1941. In 1941 there were 15,930 foreigners. In 1950 the number was
[563] 18,471. The largest foreign minority were, and still are, the Persians who in 1941 numbered 7,547 but in 1950 only
[641] 6,934 persons registered themselves as Persians. This figure is open to doubt. For many reasons it is advantageous for Persians to acquire Bahrain nationality, if they are Bahrain subjects they can buy land and can travel to Persia on Bahrain passports. During the last year or two the Government has refused all applications by Persians for Bahrain nationality. It is probable therefore that a number of Persians described themselves as Bahrain subjects in the hope that they would be accepted as such./ As most foreigners in Bahrain carry no papers which could establish their nationality it was not possible for the census staff to verify the nationality of Persians.

563 Indians and Pakistanis (3,043) mostly living in
167 Manamah, were the next largest foreign community followed by Saudi-Arabians (2,526) who included many Hassawis employed as agricultural labourers; Omanis, Muscatis and Arabs from the Trucial Coast (2,466) were mostly people who entered Bahrain in recent years seeking work; British, Americans and other Europeans numbered 1,683, this total does not include ships crews at Sitra and at Jufair (584). In Manamah and Muharraq the British and American population was 270, including R.A.F. personnel. Other nationalities included Iraqis (224), Qataris (438), Kuwaitis (149), Yemenis (105). In the population of Bahrain at the time of the census over 30 nationalities were represented.

[208] Owing to local feeling Sunnis and Shias were not
795 registered separately but sectarial distribution outside Manamah and Muharraq is sharply defined. The Shia villages contain no Sunnis and the Sunni villages contain very few Shias. Muharraq contains a small number of Shia Baharna, who are scarcely distinguishable from the Arabs and a long established community of Persian Shias. In Manamah the Shias, both Baharna and Persians, are a large and important section of the population; certain quarters of the town are inhabited almost exclusively by Baharna and some of the suburbs are occupied almost entirely by Persians.

795 Bahrain is predominantly Moslem. There are less
162 than 4,000 persons belonging to other religions, of these 2,348 are Christians, not including men on ships in the harbours, 293 are Jews and 975 are Hindus.

AGE AND SEX.

162 Reliable information about ages was difficult to obtain because few of the local inhabitants knew their own ages. There is as yet no registration of births

162 and deaths in Bahrain. In the distribution of sexes males predominated, the census figure showed 58,601 males and 51,049 females. If the number of Bahrain men who are working abroad were included in this figure the proportion [169] of men would be very high. A reason for the heavy preponderance of males is that most of the people who have come to Bahrain to work during recent years did not bring their wives and families with them, this fact is particularly noticeable in the case of Indians, Hassawis, Persians and Omanis. If Indians and Europeans are deducted from the total number of males and 30% of the males are reckoned as being under 15 or over 65 years of age the total local man power available in Bahrain would be about 38,000.

OCCUPATION

162a 464 Details of occupation were difficult to obtain; in most cases the replies to questions were vague, men described themselves as "labourers" which included cultivators oil field workers and labourers employed by contractors [208] and by the Government. A significant point was that nobody described himself as a diver though a few years ago half of the able bodied men in Bahrain would have given their occupation as divers. Now-a-days men dive during the season, in the summer, and have regular employment during the rest of the year. Generally it can be said that the cultivators who work in the gardens are always Shia Baharna and Hassawis, Arabs never work on the land in Bahrain, the village Baharna are also employed as fishermen, weavers, coral cutters and labourers in the oil fields. Few of them willingly take on work which keeps them away from their villages at night. The men of the Arab villages work in the oil fields and at sea. The townsfolk of Manamah, Muharraq and Hedd, who are of mixed nationalities, include merchants, shopkeepers, Government servants, mechanics and oil field workers and labourers.

REVIEW OF 1372

The two most important events during the year were the conclusion of a new oil agreement between the Government and the Bahrain Petroleum Company and His Highness Shaikh Sulman's first visit to Europe to attend the coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth.

The new oil agreement was on a 50—50 basis on the same lines as other agreements which have recently been made between governments and oil companies in the Middle East, it also provided for a payment to the State on oil imported into Bahrain for refining. As a result of this agreement the total revenue for the year under review was 373½ lakhs of rupees, approximately £2,800,000, though the new scale of payments was not in operation throughout the whole of 1372.

Expenditure was higher than in 1371. Excluding the one third of the oil revenue, which is paid to the Privy Purse, 48 per cent. of the State's expenditure was on social and public services; Education, Public Health, Public Protection and grants to Municipalities absorbed 18½ per cent., 15-3/8 per cent., 10-4/5 per cent., and 3 per cent. respectively, including capital expenditure on new schools, dispensaries and police quarters. The demand for more schools and hospitals is continuous and insistent but few Bahrain people realise the heavy recurrent cost of medical and education services which can be maintained on the present scale only as long as the present revenue continues.

Trade flourished and the revenue from customs was higher than in the previous year; during recent years customs collections have risen annually. Local prosperity was apparent from what might be described as a building boom. Many new houses and shops were built in the towns and suburbs by private enterprise. The type of house varied from European style bungalows and blocks of flats, built by merchants and shaikhs for letting, to small stone houses which are gradually replacing barastis, palm branch huts. Several serious fires in barasti areas, which destroyed many dwellings, gave an impetus to building. Working men who owned pieces of ground built small houses and the Government received hundreds of applications from people who wished to buy building plots. Unfortunately the Government owns very little land in and around the towns, much of it having been given away or sold cheaply many years ago.

The standard of living in Bahrain is very much higher than it was a few years ago and the health of the people is noticeably better than it used to be. For these reasons and owing to a steady influx of foreigners, mostly from Oman and the Trucial Coast, who come to Bahrain to work, it is believed that there has been a substantial increase in the population which at the time of the last census, in 1950, was found to be 110,000.

The state of public security was good in spite of the presence of large a number of foreigners who are not as naturally law abiding as the people of Bahrain. There were no political or labour disturbances.

Relations with Quatar deteriorated owing to incidents connected with the visit of a party of Bahrain schoolboys and school teachers to Zubara during the Spring holiday. The commercial development of Qatar tended to reduce Bahrain's transit trade and deprived some of the Bahrain merchants of agencies which used to include both Bahrain and Qatar. Relations with Saudi Arabia and Iraq were friendly, a deputation headed by Shaikh Isa bin Sulman, His Highness's eldest son, represented Bahrain at the coronation of King Faisal in Baghdad.

Abolition of visas. An order was issued at the beginning of the year allowing nationals of Oman, the Trucial Coast, Muscat, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the Yemen to enter Bahrain without being in possession of visas for Bahrain, issued by the British Consular or other authorities, provided that they had valid national passports or travel documents endorsed for Bahrain. Unfortunately this arrangement enabled a large number of Persians to enter Bahrain carrying travel papers describing them as being subjects of Trucial Shaikhdoms. The Government has no wish to restrict Arabs from other parts of the Gulf from coming to work in Bahrain, where there is still a demand for unskilled labour, but it views with distaste any increase in the Persian minority which exists in Bahrain. When it became evident that a number of Persians were entering Bahrain under the guise of being permanent residents of Oman or the Trucial Coast the passport authorities were ordered to allow such persons to remain in Bahrain not longer than 15 days. It is estimated that during the year about 9,075 immigrants from Oman and the Trucial Coast entered Bahrain in order to find work, they were issued with permits to remain in Bahrain for one year, subject to renewal. In almost every case the immigrants were men.

Illegal Entries. The number of persons who were arrested and repatriated to their countries, having attempted to enter the country without travel documents, was 124, consisting of 68 Pakistanis, 23 Omanis and 33 Persians. The number of persons who succeeded in entering Bahrain without being caught is undoubtedly large. The Pakistanis crossed the Gulf to Muscat by dhows and continued their journey by foot up the coast to Doha, there they chartered a dhow to take them to the nearest port in Saudi Arabia, on their way to Mecca. The Nakhuda, however, landed them on the Bahrain coast, somewhere near Jaw, probably telling them that it was the coast of Arabia. These unfortunate pilgrims were eventually sent back by steamer to Karachi.

During the year the Bahrain courts heard four cases against Bahrain Nakhudas who had landed passengers in Bahrain knowing that they were illegal entrants. They were severely dealt with. Most of the passenger smuggling is done by Qatar Nakhudas who land the people on unfrequented stretches of coast or on shoals on the Eastern side of Bahrain. Two Persian Nakhudas were prosecuted in the Agency Courts and sentenced to imprisonment and fines for the same offence.

In January 1953 information was received that a certain Persian Nakhuda, Ghulam Reza, a naturalised Bahrain subject, had arranged to ship a number of Persians to Bahrain. His launch arrived with 63 Persians on board who were refused permission to land, not being in possession of papers. They were transferred to another launch bound for Kuwait. Later some of the same passengers were found in Manama and it was discovered that the Nakhuda had, after leaving Bahrain, transferred the passengers to another vessel and landed them on the coast where they were met by motor buses which conveyed them to Manama. Ghulam Reza was subsequently arrested, prosecuted, imprisoned for one year and fined Rs. 4,000. His charge was Rs. 150 a head for landing Persians in Bahrain.

Bahrain Nationality. During the year 31 applications were received from people of various nationalities applying for Bahrain nationality. Of these 19 were accepted, being from persons long resident in Bahrain and possessing immovable property ; three of these were Indian subjects and three were Pakistanis. The courts investigated 44 applications by Persians who claimed to have been born in Bahrain. Proof of birth, especially in the case of older people, cannot easily be produced. Only 9 of these applicants were able to prove that they were born in the country. At the beginning of the year an order was issued to the effect that no Persian whose application for Bahrain nationality was accepted would be issued with a passport until two years had elapsed from the date on which he was granted nationality. As a result of this order only a small number of Persians submitted applications. The main object of the Persians who applied for Bahrain nationality was to obtain passports with which to enter Saudi Arabia where their presence was not appreciated.

Passport Official's Course. Ali bin Abdulla, a clerk in the Passport Department, did a course in England studying and learning passport and immigration methods and procedure. The course was arranged by the British Government, the results appear to be satisfactory.

5: Bahrain G-5 (1926-1937) 1937 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

PASSPORT DEPARTMENT

Passport control by the Bahrain Government was begun in 1928, when a passport official was appointed whose duty was to register the names of all passengers landing from steamers in Bahrain. Soon afterwards all passports which were in order were stamped with the Bahrain passport control stamp.

In 1929 the Government began issuing its own passports to its subjects. The book passports are similar to those of other countries; the binding of the passports is scarlet. Passports are valid for two years, but can be renewed for eight more years. Application for passports is made on a printed form; the cost of a book passport is Rs 7/- and for each renewal Rs 5/-.

Soon after the introduction of book passports the Government began to issue travel documents for use within the Gulf, costing Rs 2/-, which are valid for one year only and are not renewable. The proposal that special travel documents should be issued for pilgrims to Mecca and the Shia holy cities in Iraq has not yet materialised.

For the last seven years the British Consular authorities abroad have, on behalf of the Bahrain Government, given visas to persons travelling to Bahrain, and to Bahrain subjects abroad.

Bahrain passports are not considered valid by the authorities in Persia. Persians living in Bahrain are given special exit and return passes, valid for twelve months, which enable them to go to Persia and return, and a special arrangement is made in the case of genuine Persian divers working in Bahrain boats. Other Persians who wish to visit Bahrain have to obtain special permission from the Bahrain Government, and such permission is only given on the written and stamped guarantee of a respectable local merchant, who assumes responsibility for the person returning and for his good conduct in Bahrain. Should occasion require it, these privileges could be cancelled, and no Persian would be entitled to visit Bahrain without the necessary visa on his passport.

Bahrain nationals travelling to any foreign countries outside the Gulf obtain a visa from the Political Agent, Bahrain. Travel documents issued by recognised authorities in other Gulf States to their own nationals are recognised by the Bahrain Government, and the holders are admitted without a visa.

Various fees and stamp duties are collected by the Passport Department, and at one time the collection from passport fees was the third largest item of revenue in the Budget. The Passport Officer, who has been the head of the department since it started, is Mr. Jalal-lu-din Ahmed.

In spite of the vigilance of the passport officials, especially during the last year, great numbers of indigent Persians have entered Bahrain, illegally, at various points on the coast. Many of these people obtain work with the Bahrain Petroleum Company and fill posts which should be occupied by Bahrain subjects. The enormous increase in Persians, most of whom entered Bahrain without permission, is especially noticeable in Manamah, where almost every other person in the bazaar and nine out of ten of the beggars appear to be Persians. When once these highly undesirable aliens have entered the country it appears to be almost impossible to repatriate them. Being foreigners, they are not under the control of the Bahrain Government.

MUNICIPALITIES

Constitution and History.

Manamah. Municipalities exist in Manamah and Muharraq. The Manamah municipality was founded in 1919, under the presidency of Shaikh Abdulla bin Isa. As in the case of almost every innovation in Bahrain, the first proposal to form a municipality met with open and hidden hostility, not from the small people, but from the important landowners in the town, who feared that their vested interests would be affected. In after years the people who objected most activly became strong supporters of the municipality. The ill-feeling soon subsided, and in 1927 another municipality was formed in Muharraq at the request of the people of that town.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

ing by the momentary disorder, made commerce impossible. There is reason also to believe that in most cases the mutinies were supported by European powers, which carried on the main trade of the Persian Gulf. An illustration was the mutiny of 1740, in which the British East India Company openly favored the mutineers, and the Dutch, who at first backed the loyalist troops, suddenly made a *volte face* and supported the rebels. It is certainly strange that negotiations between the loyalists and the mutineers were carried on in English, and that an Englishman served as spokesman for the mutineers, while the Persian Admiral had to use an interpreter to deal with his own men.

Despite the difficult situation, the Persians were strong enough to keep peace and order in these waters until 1747, when the assassination of Nadir started another Civil War and the fleet was forgotten amid other cares. Naturally, the local chiefs or tribal shieks profited by the turn of events to recover their lost strength and consolidate their independence. Among those who bid for power were the Utūb.[1]

THE UTUB

The Utūb, one of the clans of Jumailah, a subdivision of 'Aniza tribe, were originally from the province of Aflaj in central Arabia. Following the general pattern of the nomadic Arab migration, they naturally looked towards the regions of the Persian Gulf where the prosperous pearl fishing and trade offered them the opportunity for better living.

Unlike the invasion of the great tribes, the Utūb had infiltrated in small groups and with the consent of the actual occupants, the Beni Khalid, they had settled on several points of the Persian Gulf littoral, the territory of Kishm and Zobara, with the main center at Grain (now Koweit), all of which were under the sovereignty of Persia.

They had formed a confederation in order to protect themselves against the economic and political pressure of other tribes. This confederation of the Utūb was led by three families: Al Sabah, Al Khalifah, and Al Jalahimah. Special duties were

1. "Geneology of Sheiks of Bahrein," p. 48.

6:Faroughy H-5 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

August 2, 1928, which developed in detail the matters discussed in the preceding note and affirmed Persian sovereignty over Bahrein. England answered on February 18, 1929, developing the arguments in her first note and reiterating her previous contentions.

Meanwhile, the Bahrein Government instituted visa regulations and established a land registry office. Since the promulgation of the decree of December 21, 1927, all real properties had to be registered, but no one except "a subject of Bahrein" had right to own property in the island.

Obviously this was to deprive Persians of their rights of ownership in Bahrein. Many sold their land and migrated to Persia, and those who stayed behind had to accept Bahrein citizenship.[1]

Also, previously passports had not been required from Persians travelling to Bahrein, and Persia protested against the change. According to the Persian note, the change "was the explicit recognition by the English authorities of the indisputable right of Iran [Persia] over Bahrein."

Publication of the news of oil concessions obtained previously by Major Holmes from the Bahrein Government, provoked on July 23, 1930, another note from Persia, in which she declared the concession invalid and "reserved—the right to reclaim or to demand restitution of all profits resulting eventually from that concession, without prejudice of all damages relating to it." This strong protest did not deter the English syndicate from ceding its rights to the Standard Oil Company of California, which began systematic exploitation.

The concession to prospect and explore for oil in Bahrein had been obtained on December 2, 1925, to Major Frank Holmes, representing Eastern and General Syndicate, a British company headed by Edmond Davis. For two years, the syndicate tried without success, to interest first British, and later American concerns, in the development of the Bahrein concession. Finally, on

1. This decree was still stiffened by the decrees of 1930 and that of May 23, 1941.

7:Khadduri S-4 (no date)1951 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2
Iran MA1

and the Wahhabi Amirs. It was partly owing to this threat of neighboring rulers, but mainly to internal feud among members of the Khalifa family (chiefs of the Utubi tribes) that Great Britain found ample reasons for intervention.

In 1820, when Great Britain had already made her appearance on the scene in the Persian Gulf, the chiefs of Bahrayn sought British support for security from outside attack as well as for internal stability. This coincided with Britain's interests in the security of her trade relations and in the suppression of piracy and the slave trade in the Persian Gulf. It was in pursuance of this objective that Britain signed the first of a series of treaties with the Shaykhs of Bahrayn without encroaching upon their independence; but these treaties resulted later in the gradual change of the islands from independent to dependent status.

The foregoing brief sketch shows that Bahrayn, during its long and checkered history, was able to maintain a large measure of internal independence even when it had fallen under foreign control. Apart from its uncertain status in antiquity, which is hardly necessary to determine for our purpose, the islands passed under Arab rule at the opening of the seventh century and remained, either as an integral part of the Arab Empire or as a semi-independent entity, until the sixteenth century. Arab rule, accordingly, may be said to have lasted for more than eight centuries. The Portuguese rule roughly lasted for a century (*circa* 1507 to 1622), and the Persian rule (1622–1783) for a little over one and a half century. From a purely historical standpoint, the Persian period has left no special impact on the inhabitants of the islands, whether racial or cultural, which would distinguish it from other periods. Contrary to the Iranian contention (as stated in its note of August 2, 1928), the inhabitants of the islands have either originally migrated from Arabia or have been Arabicized under long Arab rule. They speak the Arabic language, though many of them speak Persian too, and their manners and customs are Arabian. Finally, they have been ruled since 1783 by their own Arab chiefs, even though they acknowledged British protection—a period which lasted longer than that of Persian rule. Iran's historical claim, based on a very limited past attachment, seems to carry with it the air of propaganda; it could hardly challenge Arab historical claims.

IV. British Protection

From the time when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798 a period of Anglo-French rivalry for the domination of Eastern waters began, and the Persian Gulf was but one portion of the field in which the struggle was fought out. When Napoleon had been eliminated, the Eastern waters, including the Persian Gulf, became an undisputed field of British influence and commerce. Britain began to prepare the way by combatting piracy and the

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

The Jews have lived in the country in comparative peace and security for centuries. Their position was clear and definite. As non-Muslims they were outside the pale of the law and could not participate fully in the life of the community; but as "People of the Book" they were a *dhimma*, a protected community. In civil matters they enjoyed the same legal rights as all other Bahrain subjects. Here again social lines of demarcation were drawn on a religious basis.

With the appearance of the Palestine problem the position of this small minority became progressively more precarious. Today the Jews are socially ostracized and economically boycotted, and there have been instances where physical violence has been employed against them. The local press of Bahrain is replete with references to Bahraini Jews, the Jews in general, and to Israel. Such references include, among other things, threats to publish the names of those who associate with Jews in Bahrain or buy from them, references to the United Nations as a Jewish conspiracy to dominate the world, and editorial protests to the government against allowing allegedly Israeli airlines to land in Bahrain, or against radio-communications with Israel.[10]

The government of Bahrain has no official policy of enmity toward Israel as have the other Arab states. Commercial traffic is not prohibited with Israel or with the Jews as a whole, but in practice it is virtually so. This boycott is due in part to social pressure and in part to the fact that a large part of the goods imported into Bahrain is re-exported to Saudi Arabia, a country which has strict regulations against traffic with Jews.

Owing to their present position, the Jews are the only native community whose interests and aspirations are at complete variance with those of the native population. It is a matter of public knowledge that many of them have either left or are in the process of leaving the country to start a new life in Israel, the United States, or Europe.

THE PERSIANS AND THE INDIANS

The two major foreign elements in the country are the Persians and the Indians.[11] Their social status and relations with the native population are determined primarily by psychological, political, and economic factors rather than by religion or tribal loyalties.

The Persians are the largest foreign group, but it should be noted that they are foreigners in the legal and political sense only, for they are as much a part of the scene as the legal citizens of the country. Iran has had a long and checkered association with the islands going back to pre-Islamic times. At one period, the islands were directly controlled by it, and as late

[10] See any number of *al-Qafilah*, a weekly newspaper, or *Sawt al-Bahrain*, a monthly magazine. Both are published in Bahrain in Arabic.

[11] As used in this paper, the term "Indians" includes Indians, Pakistanis, Anglo-Indians, and Goanese.

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

as the 19th century even the British recognized that Iran had some rights in Bahrain. The Iranian government has never relinquished its claims to the islands, a fact which has had a direct bearing on the position of the Persian community.

Under these favorable circumstances, Persians have been able until recently to move in and out of Bahrain without hindrance or restriction. Over the centuries a prosperous community developed, made up mostly of merchants, so that today some of the wealthiest inhabitants of Manamah are Persians. Generally speaking, this community is more enterprising, better educated, and has a higher standard of living than the local inhabitants of the land. But although the Persians grew prosperous and acquired property in houses and some land, their hearts were never in Bahrain — they were across the Gulf in the mother country. Bahrain is regarded by the Persians as an outpost for commercial activity but not for permanent settlement.

The Persians are resented by both the Arab inhabitants and the British. They are resented by the Arabs because they constitute a foreign community which is somewhat aloof from the rest of the population; in part, also, because of envy of their general prosperity and because they are regarded as interlopers who are taking the wealth of the country away. Two other serious objections to them are that they are Shi'is by religion and tend to look toward Iran rather than the Arab world for political association.

As for the British, they resent them for numerous reasons. In almost every way they constitute a threat, minor and insignificant though it may be, to the consolidation of their position in the shaykhdom. This is especially true since Bahrain has become the chief base for British naval, air, and political activity in the Persian Gulf. Specifically, the British resent the Persian community because it has always opposed what it regards as the "Indianization" policies of the British in Bahrain. It has played the double role of an opposition party and a fifth column. The recent difficulties of the British government and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company in Iran brought the problem of Anglo-Iranian relations to a sharp focus. The situation has constituted a threat to British prestige in the Gulf. In Bahrain Mosaddaq was regarded as a liberator — in the early part of 1953 pictures of him could be seen in many shops in Manamah.

The policies of the government of Bahrain have been detrimental to the position of the Persian community. In 1927 visas for entry to Bahrain became required of Persian subjects. In December of the same year a land registry office was established and a decree passed requiring that all land be registered; it also stipulated that only Bahrain subjects could own real property. With the passage of the decree a good many Persians had only two alternatives: either to acquire Bahrain citizenship, which many of them

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

foreigners are "kept in their place" there circulate by word of mouth — a method of communication highly developed in the Middle East — and exaggerated several times in the process. One of the central themes of the local Bahrain press is a comparison between Saudi Arabia and Bahrain in this respect. As is to be expected, this is causing a feeling of frustration among the natives and creating an atmosphere of restiveness and increasing antagonism toward foreigners.

In Kuwait a rather ambitious development program has been under way for several years, made possible by increasing oil royalties. There is an atmosphere of feverish activity, psychologically exaggerated because of its concentration in a small area. By contrast, life in Bahrain is slow and development sober but limited, in view of the comparatively small oil revenues. This causes some jealousy which finds an emotional outlet in an increasing suspicion of foreigners and increasing demands on the major companies, such as the Bahrain Petroleum Company, to do more for the country than they have been doing so far.

FOREIGN ARAB GROUPS

A rather large number of foreign Arabs live in Bahrain. They can be divided into two main groups which in custom and social mores have little in common. The first group is composed of Arabs from Saudi Arabia, Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen. These people have always been part of the scene. They come and go as they have always done, with hardly any restriction on their movement. Many of them are related to people in Bahrain by blood or marriage and are looked upon as "cousins," *awlad al-'amm*, a term which carries with it all the emotional overtones of the traditions of tribal life. Some of them are merchants; a large number, especially of those from Oman, Muscat, Qatar, and Yemen, are employed by the oil industry as common laborers, and others work with local industries. Their community life and standard of living do not vary a great deal from that of the local population; in fact they are hardly distinguishable from it.

The second group of foreign Arabs, made up of a small number of Egyptians, Syrians, Lebanese, Iraqis, and Palestinians, is comparatively new to the area. On the whole, their standard of living is probably higher than that of any other group with the exception of the Westerners. Few are engaged in trade; the majority are white-collar workers.

Although they are largely new arrivals, they already exert considerable influence on the life of the country. Unlike all other foreigners, they are genuinely welcomed and looked up to by the local population. They are the missionaries of Arab nationalism. Most of the high-school and a good number of the elementary-school teachers in Bahrain come from this group (see Table IV); in this key position, it can be truly said of them that they

8:Qubain S-5 (1952-53)1955 MZ2 Bahrain MZ2

are the moulders of the new generation of Bahrainis. It is significant that all these teachers come from countries which have just emerged from British or French control.

TRENDS FOR THE FUTURE

Social realignment among the Sunnis and the Shi'is must be thought of in terms of the distant future. It is true that secular and technical education, nationalism, and economic forces are all operating to bring these two groups together. As a result they have begun to cooperate with each other in certain areas of common interest as nonreligious groups; nevertheless, the old loyalties and social patterns are still strongly entrenched, as is very graphically illustrated by the religious riots of 1953 and 1954. It is even conceivable that when and if religion loses the depth of meaning it has at present to both groups, it may still remain as the basis of political alignment or power, as is the case in highly literate Lebanon.

Nationalism has replaced religious tradition as the basis of the relations of the Jews with the major segments of society. The resultant tension is being resolved through emigration, but a few will no doubt remain. All indications are that the political struggle between the Arabs and Israel will leave them little chance of reintegrating themselves on some new basis into society in Bahrain. It is possible, although highly improbable thanks to the presence of the British, that mass violence may be used against them. If this does take place, the problem in all likelihood will assume an international character. Israel, which has established itself as the protector and defender of Jewish minorities, no doubt would use every measure to dramatize the plight of this minority to the world.

The animosity of the native population toward Persians and Indians does not arise from fundamental issues of a permanent nature. There is, for instance, no parallel feeling toward Iran, India, or Pakistan; on the contrary, warm sympathy prevails for them as combatants against Western domination. Both the causes and the issues are transitory in character, and

Table IV. FOREIGN TEACHERS IN BAHRAIN

Year	*Egypt*	*Syria*	*Lebanon*	*Palestine*	*Other Arab Countries*	*Other Nationalities*	*Total*
1944/45.....	12	2	12	—	—	2	28
1945/46.....	10	—	13	..	1	2	26
1946/47.....	13	9	12	—	1	2	37
1947/48.....	11	7	14	—	1	2	35
1948/49.....	22	6	14	—	1	3	46
1949/50.....	20	7	14	9	1	3	54
1950/51.....	9	9	15	10	1	3	47
1951/52.....	9	7	27	18	1	4	67

Source: Government of Bahrain, Dept. of Education, *Report on the Condition of Education in Bahrain* (Bahrain, 1952), p. 47. (In Arabic.)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East,
BAHRAIN M22

proximately 26,000 residents, and Hedd, a pearl fishing center, around 10,000. The population exceeded that of the 1941 census by almost 20,000: the increase was confined mainly to the towns of Manama and Muharraq, and was attributed in large part to immigration.

Since the organization of the first government school in 1919, education has made considerable progress, but expansion is handicapped by a shortage of trained teaching personnel. In 1950, the Bahrain government supported 13 primary schools for boys —8 in the towns and 5 in the villages. Educational facilities were made available to girls in 1928, and at present 6 primary schools are in operation. Of the 5,770 pupils registered in government schools in 1950-51, slightly over 1,700 were girls. A few private schools are established in Manama, while Koranic schools are found in most towns and villages. The government also maintains a secondary school, a technical school and a school hostel for boys, and provides scholarships for qualified students for advanced study at the American University of Beirut and in Great Britain. In the recent census, the literacy rate in the indigenous population was estimated at 10 per cent.

Vital Statistics

The registration of births and deaths is not compulsory in Bahrain, and no data for the calculation of vital statistics are obtainable. Local medical authorities agree that the mortality rates in infancy and early childhood are uniformly high. Observations made by the census enumerators in 1950 suggest that the infant mortality is particularly serious in the rural villages, in contrast with the towns, where living conditions have improved within recent years. The maternal mortality rates are correspondingly high.

The size of the population remained practically stationary in the rural districts in the 9-year interval between the first and the second census surveys. The rate of increase in areas outside the towns of Ma-

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164 758 useful in portraying the persistence of the disease. Records for 1949-50 indicate that between 1,700 and 2,000 persons were treated annually for malaria in the government hospitals and dispensaries alone. 164 There are normally two seasons of transmission—from the middle of March through June, with a peak early in June, and from the middle of September to the middle of January, with a peak in November. When climatic conditions are exceptionally favorable for anopheline breeding, however, transmission may take place throughout the year, with a minimum of activity in the winter months.

Because of its location on the edge of the date garden belt, Manama has always been highly malarious. As the result of control operations, the degree of infection has lately been reduced to a low level in the town, but up to 1950 it was still extensive on the outskirts. In limited malaria surveys made in January and again in May and June, which were reported in 1938,[1] the spleen rate among 234 boys of 4 to 14 years of age examined in Manama averaged about 39 per cent, while the corresponding rate among 137 boys in Muharraq was 13 per cent. The parasite indices in January were calculated at about 22 per cent in Manama and 6 per cent in Muharraq.

136 164 [167] In general, *Plasmodium vivax* infections predominate in June and *P. falciparum* in November. In the opinion of some local medical authorities, the prevalence of *P. falciparum* was enhanced by the mobility of military and civilian personnel in this region during the war years 1939-45, but it is now diminishing. In 249 blood films prepared in January in connection with the above investigation, malaria parasites were detected in 34; *P. falciparum*, in 10; *P. vivax*, in 13; and *P. malariae*, in 10; while one showed both *P. falciparum* and *P. malariae*. *Anopheles stephensi* is considered to be the principal vector, but *A. culicifacies* is probably implicated to some extent in certain localities.

164 **Plague.** Severe outbreaks of plague have